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II.—THE OCEAN IN SANSKRIT EPIC POETRY.

Touching on this point in a previous paper in the nineteenth volume of this Journal, I noticed that both the epics of India referred to "ships wrecked at sea." The question whether the great poet of the Rāmāyaṇa refers to the ocean resolves itself, to my mind, into the question whether the Rāmāyaṇa was written by the great poet to whom it is attributed or by another Homer with the same name. If it is admitted that we do not know which parts of the extant epic are genuine, then we have no means of determining whether to Vālmiki the ocean was "entirely unknown," and this factor in the discussion of the relative antiquity of the two epics is not important. If, on the other hand, we accept the parts of the epic unanimously recorded in the different versions of the text as the work of Vālmiki, then it is difficult to see why we should refuse to credit that sainted poet with a knowledge of the ocean.

Granting so much, however, I should myself restrict the probable expression of this knowledge to the cases (just mentioned) where the texts agree, and therefore conclude that, though Vālmiki shows acquaintance with the ocean and with ocean-phenomena, the descriptions in the extant epic have been multiplied by later imitators.

In this paper I refrain from further polemical discussion of the subject, my object being merely to give a picture of the ocean as described by both epics, by the epic attributed to Vālmiki, and by Vālmiki himself, in so far as a distinction is possible between the last two. Only in the case of two items I should like to add here a note to the matter of my former paper. First it is possible that the reason why Vālmiki employs the device of a dike to get the army across from India to Ceylon may be that given in the great epic at iii. 283, 28. As the numbers to be transported are here *asaṅkhyeya*, 'beyond computation,' çl. 9, it is said with some show of reason that "there are not ships enough," *nāvo na santi senāyā bahvyas tārāyituṃ tathā*. This may be implied in G. (Gorresio) v. 92, 9, where the speaker recommends having recourse to Ocean's benevolence as the only means of transporting

the army, "considering that Rāma's army is so large," (*iti me vartate buddhiḥ*) *dr̥ṣṭvā Rāma-balam mahat*, which is not expressly put forward here in the alternate text, though both versions give numbers that suggest the same reason, crores and crores of soldiers being counted, the number running into quintillions and sexillions.¹ The second reason given in the Mahābhārata—that the confiscation for military purposes of all the ships and boats would be detrimental to trade (a course opposed to the policy of a wise ruler, *vaṇijām upaghātam ca katham asmadvidhaḥ caret*, loc. cit.)—may be mentioned as a curiosity.

The second item to be added to the former paper is a query whether 'Nala's Bridge' is not a misnomer if we make a distinction between a bridge above and a dike in the water. "Whatever is put into the water I will hold together" or "The *setu* I will hold," *dhārayiṣyāmi*, R. vi. 22, 42; M. 283, 42, does not imply a bridge. The sea is in fact filled up rather than built over, *sāgaraṁ samapūryan*, R. vi. 22, 53 (compare 'ocean filled with rocks,' vi. 30, 11, where the same verb), and the mass is bound together, *babandhuḥ*, G. v. 95, 17, with vines and creepers (so M. 148, 10). Hence *na viṣeduh* in the description of G. v. 95, 15 means not the peaks, rocks, trees, and rubbish, "did not sink," but that they "did not separate." *Setu*, as far as I know, is in both epics always a causeway or dike that forms a bridge only by appearing like a dam above the water, its usual purpose being, however, to prevent river-water from progressing. Thus the *setu* of law firm on its *maryādā* or bounding limit is a dike which causes the river of virtue to rise to full flood, xii. 299, 11. But in G. v. 76, 21, in just such an image of the sea, the same verb as that above is used: "By thee alone, being virtuous, this people running into lawlessness is restrained, *dhāryate*, as is the ocean by a dike," *setune 'va mahodadhiḥ*. It is then just the word to characterize the wall built by Nala from India to Ceylon, the rocks seen to-day being all there is left of the dike, which was originally raised to the surface and filled in (it was ten leagues wide and one hundred long) with rubbish of every sort. The river-dike is illustrated in a proverb found at xiii. 35, 20, where occurs the same word, implying that the dike holds:

*aśakyam sprastum ākāṣam acālyo Himavān giriḥ
adhāryā setunā Gaṅgā durjayā brāhmaṇā bhuvi,*

¹ Compare on these incredible and almost uncountable numbers, Weber, Ind. Streif. I, p. 97.

"As none can touch the upper air or move Himālaya's moveless
dome,
Or Ganges' flood with dike restrain, so none a priest can over-
come."¹

That is, all restraint of Ganges would be a mere dike of sand, and *śīdanti sikaṭāsetavaḥ*, G. v. 88, 19, 'sand-dikes collapse' (v. l. *vāluka*^o). Compare also the proverb, R. ii. 9, 54, *gatodake setu-bandho na kalyāṇi vidhīyate*, "'Tis no use, my lady, to build the dike when the water's gone" (implied, ib. 18, 23).

Common to both epics are the similes, derived from an older period, comparing armies in confusion with ships wrecked in a flood, tossed about by contrary winds, as in R. vi. 50, 1; v. 25, 14; M. ix. 3, 5; 4, 29; 19, 2. Another example may be found in R. v. 1, 177:

pratilomena vātena mahānāur iva sāgare,

compared with v. 28, 8:

mahārṇave nāur iva mūḍhavātā,

where the "great ship in the ocean distressed by contrary wind" is complementary to the "ship distressed in the great flood," and the two make it improbable that in v. 25, 14, the ship distressed "in mid-flood" is a boat on a river. Compare *hatanāuḥ sāgare yathā*, of a wrecked sailor swimming in the ocean, R. v. 37, 5.

An image of this sort in the Mahābhārata speaks of the ship being laden with pearls and hanging on the back of a leviathan, *makara*. As represented in the Rāmāyaṇa, Ocean (personified) rises from the depths "adorned with self-made pearls," R. vi. 22, 20, and the ordinary use of *ratna* as in this passage makes it probable that the ship laden with *ratna* is a vessel employed in the pearl-fishing business, especially as the ship is here described as "wrecked on the edge of the flood, and filled with pearls," *aṛṇavānte ratnābhīpūrṇām makarasya prṣṭhe*, iii. 270, 19.

The leviathan here mentioned is known to both epics in the identical image of a hero plunging into the affray "like a *makara* into the ocean":

praviveṣa mahāsenām makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā, i. 138, 30,
kṣobhayanti sma tāṁ senām makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā, ix. 18, 10,

¹ Sky, mountain, river, and land are involved, *bhūvi* 'on earth' opposed to the river and mountain, as 'on land,' or among men.

(*sāinyam*) *praviveṣa mahābāhur makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā*, viii.

77, 10,

praviveṣa ripoḥ sāinyam makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā, G.

vi. 77, 6,

(*sāinyam*) *mahārṇavam mīna ivā 'viveṣa*, R. vi. 69, 67.

That these are sea-monsters is shown by Arjuna's description : "I beheld the ocean, *udadhi*, terrible, the lord of waters, *apām pati*, the inexhaustible . . . Thousands of pearl-laden ships, *timīṅgilas*, turtles, and *makaras* like hills sunk in water," M. iii. 169, 1-4. The image above appears as *timine 'va mahājalam* (a rare word) *kṣobhyamāṇam*, M. vi. 112, 34. But the *timi* is also in a pond, R. ii. 81, 16.

Yet the *makara* simile is in so far inconclusive as to fail in the passage corresponding to G. (Gorresio), where the Bombay has *patāṅga ivā pāvakam*. But we learn at least that the 'lord of waters' is really ocean, and can scarcely doubt that the 'lord of waters,' where it occurs elsewhere as an epithet of *sāgara*, justifies us in rendering the latter word by 'ocean,' in fact the ocean of both epics. For the descriptions in detail are almost identical, and the flood is both portrayed as an ocean and differentiated from all rivers, especially the Ganges.

It is the bottomless flood, the same expression used in the Mahābhārata of ocean. It is measureless, also used of ocean in the other epic. It is the home of Varuṇa (the lord of monsters, as the other epic calls him). Moreover, it is the lord of all the streams, not as being chief among them, but as being the flood into which empty the great rivers. Furthermore, it is expressly salt.

Compare R. v. 19, 31 = 92, 8: *khanītaḥ Sagareṇā 'yam aprameyo mahodadhiḥ* (v. l. *mahārṇavaḥ*); ib. G. 6-7: *makarālayaḥ* and *varuṇālayaḥ*; ib. G. 94, 7: *sāgaraḥ saritām patīḥ*. The last is not in the alternate text, but in iv. 11, 8 = G. 9, 37, where *samudraṁ saritām patim* (= M. ix. 50, 15) is followed by *sāgaraṁ ratnasaincayam* (in G. *makarālayam*). R. has also the classical *sarīṭpatir* (*vā 'nilacañcalormiḥ*), iv. 14, 23. The "terrible waves" of ocean are alluded to in R. iv. 53, 1:

*tatas te dadṛṣur ghoraṁ sāgaraṁ varuṇālayam
apāram abhigarjantaṁ ghorāṭr ūrmibhir ākulam
(G. 53, 2: apāram ivā . . . mahoraganiṣevitam).*

Compare vi. 42, 37: *vegā ivā mahodadheḥ*. The epithets *varuṇ-*

ālaya (also M. iii. 282, 44, etc.) and *makarālaya* are common, and in R. vi. 123, 17, *lavaṇārṇava*, 'the salt flood,' as a substitute for the latter (G. 108, 15; the next verses may be compared with the last citation). The passages G. v. 9, 1 and 15, 23, containing *makarālaya*, are not in the alternate text, but the word occurs there in v. 36, 8; vi. 22, 70, though it belongs rather to G. and Mbh.¹; compare G. v. 92, 6 = vi. 19, 28. G. v. 3, 38 = iv. 67, 13 has *varuṇālaya*, but G. v. 5, 2, where it occurs, is lacking in the ed. Bombay.

The only difference between *arṇava* and *sāgara* is that the former is less precisely ocean, but rather flood:

yena dattā mahī sarvā sasāgaravanārṇavā, G. vi. 41, 15.

The flood's bottomless depth and "noise like a tempest" is described: *agādha* (as in M. ix. 3, 5), *gambhīra*, v. 6, 13 = G. 12, 24:

samudram iva gambhīram samudrasamaniḥṣvanam,

where G. has *parjanyaṃ iva*. Compare *agādham varuṇālayam*, G. v. 34, 3; *paramagādho 'yaṃ sāgaraḥ saritām patih* (*varuṇā-vāsaḥ*, 28), ib. 74, 17.

As in the Mahābhārata, the Ganges is *sāgaraṅgamā* or *sāgaragāminī*, R. ii. 52, 3 = G. 49, 3. The ocean is the receptacle of all rivers: *sāinyan̄ viveṣa sindhus tu yathā 'rṇavāuḡham; śro-tāṅsi pratijagrāha nadinām iva sāgaraḥ*, G. iii. 31, 11 (with v. l. *nadyoghān*, 25, 13). Compare also *nadanadīpati*, an epithet of ocean common to both epics, R. v. 16, 12; G. v. 66, 34; R. vi. 22, 59; M. passim.² Even Gomati and Jumna are included, R. ii. 49, 10; 105, 19.

The coast so often alluded to is one on salt water: *na śakyate vārayitum vele 'va lavaṇāmbhasā*, G. iii. 28, 2 (v. l. *dhārayitum lavaṇāmbha 'ivo 'lbaṇam*, 22, 2). The phraseology is here similar in both epics,³ one can not pass over or overcome:

¹ Compare *varuṇo yādasām patih*, M. ix. 47, 10, and *sāgarālaya*, vs. 9; *makarālaya* and *saritām patih*, vs. 7.

² iii. 283, 36, for example. The ocean is here a *sindhu*, vs. 25. The phrase 'lord of rivers' occurs at times in G. when not in the Bombay text (thus in iii. 60, 18; v. 3, 79; vi. 108, 13), but it occurs elsewhere in the other text—above, and, e. g., vi. 22, 40; 87, 2; 103, 40 (*samudraḥ*), etc.

³ Compare also *saritām sāgaro bhartā mahāvelām ivormimān* (Çānti); *velāvanam* (v. l. *balam*) *samāsādyā*, M. iii. 283, 22; *vele' va sāgaram*, ib. vii. 25, 14; *vele' va makarālayam* and *saritām patim*, ib. vi. 108, 60 and vii. 16, 21.

velām ivā 'sādyā yathā samudraḥ, R. vi. 109, 21 (compare ii. 23, 29).

velām samāsādyā yathā samudraḥ, G. ib. 93, 28.

velām iva samāsādyā, M. i. 227, 28.

velām iva mahodadhīḥ, R. vi. 118, 16 (also 76, 63 and G. ii. 30, 30).

velām iva mahormayaḥ (v. l. *mahodadhīḥ*), G. vi. 55, 58 = 76, 63.

Otherwise in G. v. 87, 7: *çuṣubhe . . . nivṛttavelaḥ samaye* (as in vi. 42, 37, above) *prasanna iva sāgaraḥ*. The *sāgarāmbarā vasumatī* of M. i. 170, 78 is found in R. as *mahī sāgarāmbarā*, and the *samudrāntā prthivī* of M. vii. 198, 55; xiii. 62, 66, may be copied in the *saptasamudrāntā mahī*, G. iv. 15, 8 (iii. 78, 4).

"Like a second ocean" describes a flood of people: *agādhaḥ cā 'prameyaḥ ca dvitīya iva sāgaraḥ*,¹ R. vi. 20, 4. "Like another ocean" is a common comparison, e. g. R. vi. 4, 104; 26, 41. When more are recognized they are referred to either as (above) "the seven seas" or as four seas in number, as in R. v. 49, 12:

kṛtsnam parivṛtaṁ lokaṁ caturbhir iva sāgarāḥ,

or as "the south, west, north, and another," *itara*, G. vi. 112, 65 ff., the fifth ocean serving as a means of comparison, G. v. 17, 7:

dvitīyam iva cā 'kāṣam . . . pañcamāṁ sāgaraṁ yathā.

The sea covers the (seven) *pātālas*, R. vi. 22, 1:

adyā 'haṁ ṣoṣayiṣyāmi sapātālam mahārṇavam.

The ship *nāus* (also *plava*) that sails the sea is distinguished from the river-boat, *nāukā*, but, like it, must have been worked by a *yantra*, probably tackle implying a sail, though oars would answer to so general a word, which means no more than machine or machinery of any sort. Curiously enough, there is no distinct mention of sails, *paṭa*, *vātapata*, such as are spoken of in later literature, though *vāhana* may include sail, R. ii. 52, 6 (81, *sphya* = rudder).

As this paper is descriptive rather than argumentative, I will not apologize for pausing here to notice an odd mistake in printing M. vii. 141, where Karna is addressed with the words

na vinā nāyakaṁ senā muhūrtam api tiṣṭhati
āhaveṣu, āhavaçreṣṭha, Karṇa, hīne 'va nāur jale,

¹ Compare M. iii. 283, 22: *dvitīyasāgarāmbhaṁ tad balaṁ*, of the same army; but also M. ix. 30, 55: *dvitīyam iva sāgarāṁ*, etc. Both epics have *sāgarāntā* as an epithet of earth 'bordered by ocean,' 'bordered by seven seas,' in G.; but in R. iii. 75, 4 the alternate text also alludes to seven seas.

where B. 5, 8 has *netṛhīneva*. The original is doubtless to be found in G. vi. 23, 30:

*hatapravīrā vidhvastā nirutsāhā nirudyamā
senā bhavati saṁgrāme hatakarṇe 'va nāur jale.*

Here the Bombay has *senā bhramati saṁkhyeṣu*, like M. vi. 118, 7: (*pāṇḍusenā*) *bhrāmyate bahudhā rājan mārutene 'va nāur jale*. Compare also R. ii. 81, 6: *paribhramati rājaṣṭrīr nāur ivā 'karṇikā jale*, where G. 82, 6 has *akarṇā nāur ivā 'mbhasi*.

The Mahābhārata recognizes that the tides of ocean rise higher with the (full) moon, as in ix. 26, 28:

Bhīmaḥ saṁcukṣubhe kruddhaḥ parvaṇī 'va mahodadhīḥ.

Not only does the Rāmāyaṇa refer to the same fact, but its descriptions are so clearly based on observation, they are so vivid and strong, that it seems as impossible to deny to the poet of the poem all knowledge of ocean from this one point of view alone, as to imagine that πολυφλοισβοῖο θαλάσσης was the description of a riparian poet. When, too, it is remembered that the ocean here plainly named is elsewhere the "salt flood," it is clear that no Ganges is meant in the *udayaḥ sāgarasya parvakāle*, G. iv. 34, 32, with which, as in the quotation above from the Mahābhārata, the anger of a hero is compared. Sometimes only the "waxing ocean" is mentioned, but parallel passages show that the connotation is the same. Thus, *zuṣṭrāva tumulaṁ śabdaṁ sāgarasye 'va vardhataḥ*, G. ii. 105, 57, compared with ib. v. 3, 3:

*yathā candramaso vṛddhyā pūryate sāgaro 'mbhasā
vavṛdhe stūyamānasya tathā vīryaṁ Hanūmataḥ.*

"Then waxed Hanūman's strength at that applause
As ocean fills at waxing of the moon."

Then is ocean most beautiful: *aśobhata mahāvegah parvaṇī 'va jalāśayaḥ* (v. l. *sāgarasye 'va parvaṇī*, G. ii. 87, 5 = 80, 4), "fair as the sea at moon-turn." The ocean 'rejoices' at this time: *bhaviṣyati purī hr̥ṣṭā* (v. l. *nandiṣyati*) *samudra iva parvaṇī*, R. ii. 43, 11 = G. 42, 13. It becomes 'more agitated': *babhūva saṁkṣubdhatarah* (v. l. *saṁrabdhatarah*) *samudra iva parvaṇī*, R. ii. 18, 7 (15, 9).

Whether the one recension has not enlarged on the theme is a fair question, although enough remains in the other (Bombay) text to show that the idea was familiar to its writer. Something

of the same relation as that already mentioned is found here—namely, the first three citations given above are found only in G., and where here in ii. 11, 18^b stands

pūrṇacandrodaye pūrṇo vardhate sāgaro yathā,
“As ocean fills when the full moon arises,”

the alternate text, 14, 47^a, has

yathā nandati tejasvī sāgaro bhāskarodaye.
“As glorious ocean joys when the sun arises.”

It is true that the sea is inaccurately described (as containing lotuses, alligators and frogs), but the last passage, as Professor Jacobi has said, is probably a late interpolation and the former are conventional. Some descriptive verses have been furnished by the author of Das Rāmāyaṇa, as at p. 123 (and preceding):

ambaram sāgaram co 'bhāu nirviṣeṣam apaṣyata
sampṛktaṁ nabhasā hy ambhaḥ sampṛktaṁ ca nabho 'mbhasā,

where the commingling of cloud and sea is rather well described, as before, vi. 4, 120–21, is given the sound of the breaking surges:

bhrāntormijāla saṁnādam pralolam iva sāgaram,

though less effective is the simile in vs. 118 or G. v. 74, 37:

ūrmayaḥ sindhurājasya mahābherya iva 'hatāḥ,

where the waves beat like cymbals. The following I add chiefly as an illustration of the descriptive style of a poet who followed Vālmiki, G. vi. 14, 25:

(As the sun set and night advanced, *pūrṇacandrapradīpā ca yāminī samavartata*)
sacandragrahanakṣatraṁ nabho 'dr̥ṣyata sāgare
dvitīyam iva cā 'kāṣaṁ sacandragrahatāarakam.

The alternate text stops with *°pradīplā ca kṣapā samativartata*, 38, 13.

I have already given examples of the tumult of people compared with the roaring of ocean. Another case, only in G. v. 9, 49, has a verse descriptive of the tumult of a town:

sāgaropamanirghoṣāṁ sāgarānilasevitām,

where at least the first half seems to betray some ability in fitting

the word to its object.¹ But no copy of nature in any epic poetry surpasses the splendid description of the flood of people whose uproar in R. ii. 6, 27 = G. 5, 27, is rendered in the magnificent verse

parvasū 'dīrṇavegasya sāgarasye 'va niḥsvanaḥ,

where the swell and filling and very hiss of the ocean are reflected in the simile of the high-surfing billows.

This brief account of epic descriptions shows that the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata employ much the same matter in similes and allusions to the ocean; that one text of the Rāmāyaṇa has rather more such matter than the other; but that both texts, taken together, indicate that the water-similes and descriptions of flood-water refer to ocean. It is the general ocean into which empty the Ganges and Indus and all other rivers, as is stated above from one text, and more explicitly in the other, R. vi. 22, 22 :

*Gaṅgāsindhupradhānābhīr āpagābhiḥ samāvṛtaḥ
sāgaraḥ.*

“That ocean which the Ganges and the Indus
And lesser rivers fill.”

WASHBURN HOPKINS.

¹ Sea-similes of this sort (apparently) occur frequently, but most of them are not very successful. Compare G. vi. 16, 49 ff., a string of them; v. 74, 14; vi. 19, 20; 99, 25, etc.